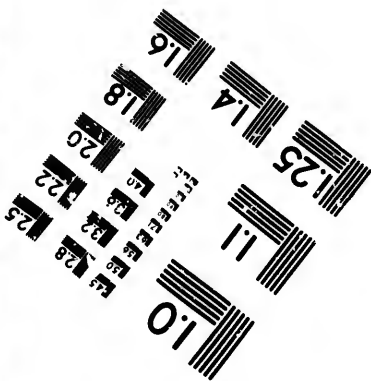
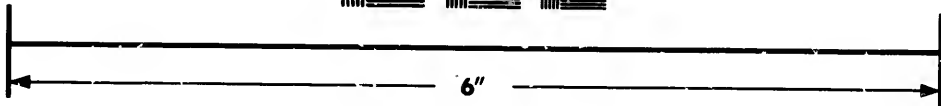
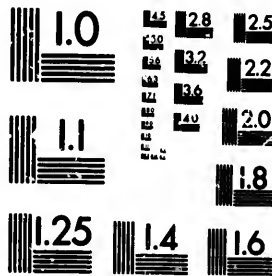


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

18  
20  
22  
25

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



**Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques**

10

**© 1982**



The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

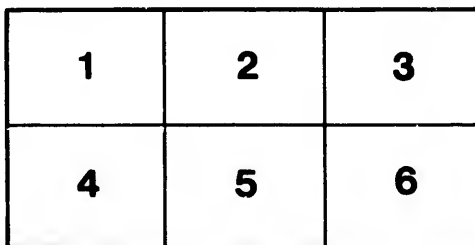
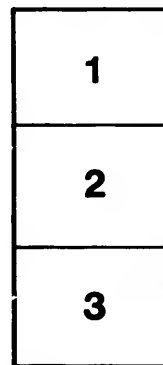
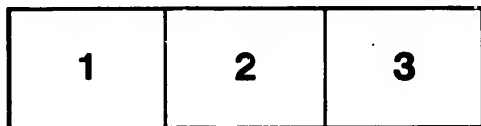
Library of the Public  
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

La bibliothèque des Archives  
publiques du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

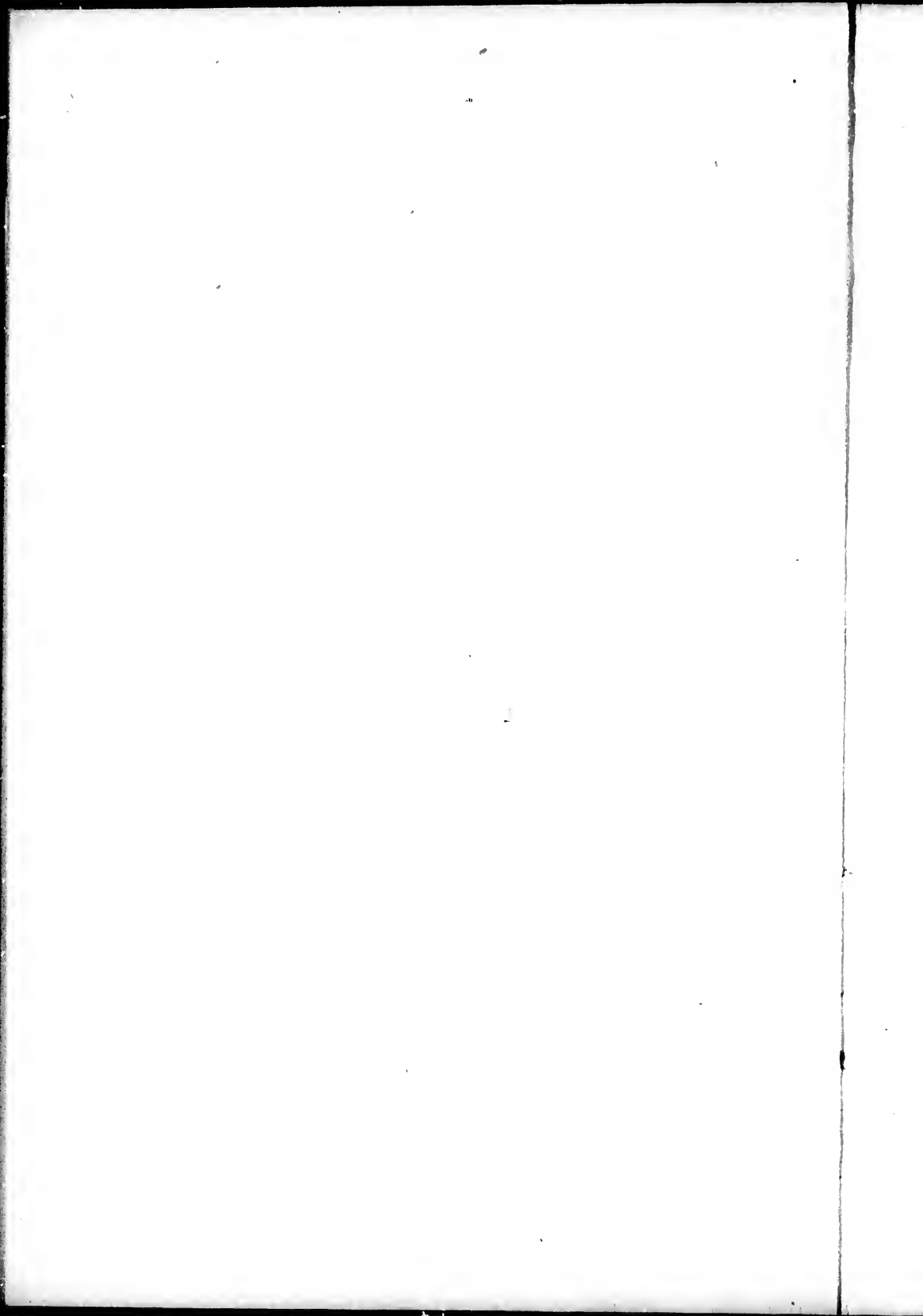
Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

ails  
du  
odifier  
une  
image

rrata  
o  
pelure,  
h à



# CANADA

SINCE THE UNION.

---

## A LECTURE

DELIVERED BY

J. H. O'NEILL, ESQUIRE,

At the ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC AND LITERARY INSTITUTE,  
on the 4th May, 1871, under the auspices of the "Young  
Irishmen's Association of Quebec."

---

Published by the YOUNG IRISHMEN ASSOCIATION.

---

QUEBEC :  
PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF L'ÉVÉNEMENT.

1871.

~~~~~

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

---

When asked to lecture upon "Canada since the Union," I at once determined upon considering the question from a purely political point of view. The reader who will look into the matter ever so little, will perceive in the national, sectarian, and sectional squabbles which agitated our country, a very great reason why to-day we are so backward as agriculturalists and manufacturers; why, in fact, our commerce is away behind what it would have been, had our public men rather sought the good of the country than to divide its people into factions.

The divisions amongst our people previous to the coalition, had brought about a state of "impending anarchy," to save us from which, we were told, there was no hope but in a Confederation of the Provinces. This system would secure to the majorities and minorities of the different provinces just and equal rights. That which makes government necessary, to save us from anarchy, made Confederation imperative; so we were told by our leading statesmen. The cause which immediately brought about Confederation was that the system of Representation under the old law was manifestly unjust—so much so, that 400,000 souls in Ontario, who contributed largely to the revenue of the then province, were unrepresented in Parliament. To remedy the unhappy state of affairs, a compromise was entered into between the representative



men of the various parties and nationalities of the Province of Canada, and the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This compromise was not made in the interest of any particular body of men, but in the interests of the community generally; therefore, the interests of the people can only be secure by maintaining the integrity of the compact. The constitution which grew out of the treaty between the representative men of the various sections of our country and people, is known as the British North America Act, 1867. It divides Canada into four Provinces, and provides, on the basis of Representation by Population, that, on the completion of the census, in the year 1871, and of each subsequent decennial census, the Representation of the four Provinces shall be readjusted by such authority, in such manner, and from such time, as the Parliament of Canada from time to time provides, subject and according to the following among other rules:

1. "Quebec shall have the fixed number of sixty-five Members."

2. "There shall be assigned to each of the other Provinces, such a number of Members as will bear the same proportion to the Number of its population, ascertained at such census, as the number sixty-five bears to the Number of the population of Quebec, so ascertained."—Certain of the electoral districts of Quebec (twelve) were specially fixed as a guarantee to the British party. This setting apart of twelve counties for the British people was a repetition of what had been done years before. And that there may be no doubt upon the point, I shall now quote from the speech of the Honble. Sir E. P. Taché, made dur-

ing the debate on Confederation, in 1865, in the Legislative Council : “ The honorable gentleman behind me is not at all satisfied with the electoral divisions as they stand in Lower Canada. He says there is no security whatever afforded by them to the Protestant community.” This is what Sir E. P. Taché had to answer. Now, what does he say ? After stating that before laying his project before the Executive Council, Mr. Morin consulted with him, the gallant Knight says :

“ The divisions of the other branch of the Legislature were worked out so as to give our Protestant English fellow-subjects everything which could be considered fair in every sense of the word. I say also that the same spirit was manifested in regard to the working out of the divisions of the Legislative Council. I assisted to work them out, in conjunction with the Honorable Mr. Cauchon, and I do assert here most solemnly that our whole trouble and study was to try and devise some means so as to give the English portion of the community of Lower Canada something like fair play.”

Further on in his speech (see p. 237, Debates on Confederation) Sir E. P. Taché says :

“ Then how does the case stand for the Protestants in Lower Canada ? In Upper Canada we have just seen that 258,000 Catholics are represented by just two members of their own faith in the Lower Branch of the Legislature. How are the 160,000 Protestants in Lower Canada represented ? Well, honorable gentlemen, they are represented by no less than 14 members. (Hear ! hear !) That is to say, more by fifty per cent than they would be entitled to according to strict rule of three.”

Now, had as the state of Catholic representation in Upper Canada appeared to the gallant Knight, (arising from a somewhat similar distribution of the electoral divisions in that Province) he would, had he only thought of it at the time, seen that the study of Mr. Morin to devise representation for the British Protestants in Lower Canada, had left the Irish people of this Province with no representation at all adequate to their position as tax-payers. In the General and Provincial Governments to-day they are unrepresented, and this, notwithstanding that they contribute large sums of money to the Public Revenue. Sir Francis Hincks has a seat in the Dominion Government, and Nova Scotia can boast an Irish Catholic Minister ; but assuredly this is not a fair representation, and I know no man so deprived of common honesty as to affirm that the Irish people, and particularly the Irish Catholics, are fairly dealt with. The Constitution, according to which the community has agreed to be governed, provides for a fair recognition of the various nationalities, and if the representation be only fairly adjusted and the suffrage properly distributed in a liberal spirit, much good will be done. If instead of acting in conformity with the principles and objects of the Constitution, the Government administer public affairs in a way to do violence to the rights of a great body of the people of Canada, I fear me very much that they will be paving the way for a perilous state of affairs. I am concerned that everything should be done to preserve our inward peace, because that only will give us national strength. And the more I consider the compromise made and the state of affairs which brought

it about, the more I am convinced, that to have inward peace, equal justice must be extended to the various races inhabiting our country. Those who desire the glory of Canada, will find that the only way of procuring it is to make every man in the Dominion feel secure in his rights;— upon no other condition will the various races in this country join their efforts to heal our divisions.

---

n  
t,  
of  
l,  
at  
on  
ad  
e-  
as  
ro-  
nd  
ge  
an-  
nt,  
Mi-  
ta-  
on  
par-  
ith.  
nu-  
fair  
the  
suf-  
uch  
con-  
the  
blic  
of a  
very  
a pe-  
very-  
ward  
ional  
apro-  
ught



## CANADA SINCE THE UNION.

---

I have been asked by the "Young Irishmen's Association" of this city, to lecture upon *Canada since the Union*. For many reasons, I like the subject. Not because I believe myself capable of doing justice to it, but because it reveals the deep anxiety which my young countrymen feel in the affairs of Canada, and a desire to have discussed their actual and prospective position under Confederation. Of course, in the space of an hour and a half, I can do no more than view the situation generally; and as I cannot deal with every phase of the subject, I shall principally dwell upon that one which concerns us most. I shall take as broad grounds, under the circumstances, as it is possible for me to take; and however much any of my hearers may feel inclined to dispute any position taken by me, I promise you I shall give no candid or just man offence. That I shall speak freely there can be no doubt. I owe this to truth, and to the gracious attitude which my young countrymen have assumed towards me. And besides, living in a country where society is only tied by its own engagements, and the consideration of what it owes to its dearest interests, I feel that I am permitted in my speech a prodigality which the strictest discretion cannot blame. This latitude, while it gives me the right to complain of certain

things which are wrong, makes me find in the causes of my complaining the best impulse of my activity. I should scorn to assume the position of a fault-finder, or to weave a groundless accusation against the existing order of things. I love Canada, and for her sake I am concerned about those things which in the end must work against her peace and prosperity. I cannot look with indifference upon what is going on around me, and while I would have been unwilling to thrust myself forward to condemn what I felt to be unjust, I cannot but feel, as the guest of a representative body, that I am fulfilling a duty, when I point out what I consider acts of manifest injustice, of injustice so great, that while it exists there never can be any real confidence in those who govern our destinies—of injustice so great, that when it is fully felt by those who suffer it, there must, as there ought to be, such an organized agitation as will shake the very tap-roots of the system under which it exists. However much inclined I feel to conciliate matters, the truth compels me to state, that in Canada today the Irish people, if not proscribed, are entirely ignored, indeed shamefully so. But it may be said, the Irish have no right to any special representation. Let us inquire. Now, if you will follow me out, and I hope you will forgive me if I am tedious, I will take a glance at Canada previous to Confederation and since, with the view of ascertaining if government be entitled to confidence while it virtually proscribes the opinions of a large section of the people of this country?

Previous to the Union of the two Canadas in 1841, Ontario was known as Upper Canada, and

Quebec as Lower Canada—the design of Mr. Pitt, who framed the Act of 1791, being to leave to the French Lower Canada and to create an English colony in Upper Canada. Circumstances with which you are all acquainted brought about the Union of the two Canadas in 1841, the avowed intention of which was to swamp the French Canadians, by not giving them a fair share in the representation. Those who opposed the Bill on the second reading in the English Parliament, in the month of April, 1840, all affirmed this, and openly *declared* that in consequence it would prevent that unanimity and harmony so essential to the country. The Bill was hurried through the English Parliament by Lord John Russell, at a time when nearly all the members had gone home for Easter, and on the 10th of February, 1841, became law in Canada. Three or four days after the proclamation of the Act of Union, in 1841, Lord Sydenham formed a Cabinet, composed of the Honorables W. H. Draper, Attorney General for Upper Canada; R. B. Sullivan, President of the Council; J. H. Dunn, Receiver General; J. B. Harrison, Provincial Secretary, and Robert Baldwin, Solicitor General. This constituted the Upper Canadian section of the Administration. The Lower Canadian section consisted of the Honorables Mr. Ogden, Attorney General; D. Daly, Provincial Secretary, and C. D. Day, Solicitor General. Later on, on the 17th March, the Honorable Mr. Killaly entered the Cabinet, as Chief of the Public Works Department. This government did not contain *one French Canadian*, and as a natural consequence, did not possess the confidence of the people of Lower Canada. Efforts were made to induce Mr. LaFontaine to take



a seat in this Cabinet, but that gentleman, rather than sacrifice the hopes of the people whom he represented, by taking a seat in a Cabinet where he would have no influence, refused. The Council which replaced the Military Council in 1764, had on it *one* obscure Canadian; but the times had changed, and Mr. Lafontaine, the representative of the French nationality in Lower Canada, was not the man to humble himself, or the people who had placed confidence in him. Had Lord Sydenham, says my friend Mr. Turcotte, in his book, "Canada under the Union," desired "not to insult a people who formed more than half the population of Canada, he might have found Canadians who would have approved of his policy. To have found them would have been to have given them a shadow of justice." The opposition of the Liberals, aided by the French Canadian representatives, soon showed, however, that this government did not possess public confidence. Writs for a general election were issued on the 19th of February. The position taken by the French Canadians thus ignored, at this time, is one that, all in all, they may well be proud of. They were willing to work under the constitution, although it had been purposely framed to crush out their national existence; but they would only do so on the condition that justice were meted out to them. Nor were the people, who had risen as one man, abandoned by their leaders. Stout and resolute hearts had gathered round Mr. Lafontaine, of venerable memory, to give him that support that all men struggling for just rights deserve. Their acts were prompted by a heroic virtue, for they all had reference to the well-being of their

country, which they felt could never be the abode of peace while their nationality and the principles which they professed were ostracised. The aim of Mr. Draper, in offering a seat in the Cabinet to Mr. Lafontaine, was through him to gain an influence over the French representatives and people, and to avoid the consequences of a collision which would upset his government, and forever blast the hope of governing the country at the expense of a large section of the people. It was a blow aimed at French nationality, and Mr. Lafontaine saw it, and proudly disdained to enter a government which would offer no guarantees to those whom he represented. In his address to the electors of Terrebonne, wherein he hinted a near union between the Liberals of Lower Canada and the Reformers of Upper Canada, Mr. Lafontaine laid down the doctrine that social equality must necessarily bring about political liberty. And, said he, in one part of his address, "The means of obtaining political liberty is the sanction of the popular will to the adoption of laws; it is the right to regulate the imposition of taxes and the expenses; it is moreover an efficacious participation in the action of the government; it is the influence of the people in what concerns the administration, and their effective and constitutional control over those who are immediately called upon to work out the ends of government; it is, in a word, what constitutes the great question of the day,—Responsible Government." Mr. Lafontaine *believed that the colonies should have the right to manage their own affairs*, and in order that they should effectively have this right, the affairs of the colony should be administered *by and with* the con-

sent of the majority of the representatives of the people of the country. He regarded the Union as unjust, because among other reasons, it did away with the use of the French language in public documents, and deprived Lower Canada of her just number of representatives. He believed that injustice to Lower Canada would produce intestine troubles that all parties would have to regret, and doubted not but what the Reformers of Upper Canada would unite with them, and thereby bring about that peace, unity and good-will, without which the progress of the country for the future must be doubtful.

The flagrant corruption and wholesale disfranchisement by which the general elections of 1841 were carried, were such as to disgust every honest man, and to convince him that the object of those in power was not to govern the country in accordance with the will of the people. In Lower Canada, notwithstanding the vile practises of the Governor himself, who had, without regard to his position, openly aided in defeating the party of which Mr. Lafontaine was the leader, the Liberals achieved a great victory. In Upper Canada, where the elections had not turned upon the principles of the Union, but upon their application, the Reformers, who desired that these should be broadly and liberally understood, also triumphed, returning 26 Reformers, while the Tories only returned 16. In this election Mr. Lafontaine and other leaders of the Liberal party were defeated, because all the power of the government had been used against them. In nearly every county in Lower Canada, however, where the electoral law was at all observed, anti-Unionists were returned.

On the 9th of June, a few days before the opening of Parliament, a Legislative Council, consisting of 24 members, was formed, in which only 8 French Canadians were given seats. This was a still further indication of the desire of the government to ignore their existence. Finally, on the 14th of June, the Parliament was summoned to meet at Kingston. To the address from the throne, an amendment or counter-address was moved by Mr. Neilson, which among other things stated that in the Act of Union there were principles incompatible with justice and repugnant to the common rights of British subjects. Mr. Baldwin, who had accepted a seat in the Cabinet upon the proclamation of the Act of Union, resigned after the general elections, because he believed the government did not possess the confidence of the people of the country. He desired changes in the Cabinet which would not be entertained, upon which he refused any longer to hold a seat in the ministry. Mr. Hincks was also convinced that the government did not possess public confidence. The amendment of Mr. Neilson was, however, lost, there being 25 in favor of it, and 75 against it. Other amendments proposed by Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Hincks met with no better fate; yet on the whole the results were such as to warrant them in believing that their principles would ultimately triumph, as many had only voted with the government to give it what is termed *a fair trial*.

Between the Liberals and the Tories a broad gulf existed, as to how Responsible Government should be understood. Mr. Draper left it to be well understood that from his stand-point the ministry were responsible to the Governor and not to

the people ; it was not thus interpreted, however, by the Liberal party. Being questioned upon all sides, it was finally admitted by the government that no ministry could hold power, that could not pass its measures by a vote of the majority of the representatives of the people. This admission was looked upon as a recognition of the principles of Responsible Government, which, however, had been on the 14th Jan. 1840, more than shadowed forth in Mr. Poulett Thompson's answer to the Legislature of Upper Canada.

I shall not here dwell upon the achievements of the government under Sir Charles Bagot's predecessor. Its successes were achieved by fraud and violence, and rested upon a downright violation of the most common notions of justice.

On the 12th of Jan. 1842, Sir Charles Bagot was sworn in at Kingston as the Governor General of Canada. From the first he showed himself friendly to the French Canadians, and began by recognizing them in making Mr. Vallier Chief Justice, and Dr. Meilleur Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada. Sir Charles Bagot, in assuming power, had numerous difficulties to encounter, as many of the laws forced upon the country by his predecessor were unpopular and unjust, and other acts about to become law were equally so. Among these laws was one which divided this province into 26 municipal districts, the principal officers of which, the Syndics, Treasurers, etc., should be named by the Governor, and have the right of taxing the people. The Canadians could not permit that they should be taxed by officers over whom they had no control. The effect of this law was that the municipal councils made it

their chief business to meet and protest against its enactments. Throughout this whole time the Liberal Press of Lower Canada urged upon the people the proper modes of waging war upon the injustice attempted to be done them, and placed them upon grounds that they might see readily the full extent of the injustice done them, and avert it. On the 8th of Sept. 1842, Sir Charles Bagot again summoned Parliament. The ministry could scarcely command a majority. During the administration of Sir Charles' predecessor, by means of corruption and disfranchisement, he had maintained a majority favorable to his views; but since the advent of Sir Charles to office that majority had dwindled away. The ministers, having been now left to their own resources, saw fit to make overtures to the Liberals; but this was solely to prevent a union between the Lower Canadians and Sir Allan McNab.

Since the termination of the last session, public opinion had endorsed the views of the Liberals, by electing many Liberal members to Parliament. Among those who were elected was Mr. Lafontaine, who had been returned for Hastings, an Upper Canadian constituency. This was done as a mark of recognition of the people of Lower Canada. The accessions to the Liberal ranks placed them in a position to wage a stout opposition; and the Governor General, convinced that no government could stand which would deny the just claims of the French to representation in the Cabinet and otherwise, early in the session of 1842 commenced negotiations with Mr. Lafontaine. This gentleman was offered the position of Attorney General for Lower Canada, and two

other seats for his friends. This offer, apparently just, was still what he could not accept. He wanted some guarantee of his independence, and of the permanency of what was offered. A mere seat in the Cabinet was not a sufficient recognition that the rights of those for whom he had struggled would be guaranteed. Mr Baldwin, who had been faithful to him, refused a seat in the Cabinet because certain parties in it entertained views that he could not share. For this among other reasons, Mr. Lafontaine would not enter the government. Mr. Draper, seeing that he could not carry on the government, had offered to make way for Mr. Baldwin, provided a retiring pension were given to Messrs. Ogden and Davidson. To this, neither, would Mr. Lafontaine consent. As the conditions imposed by him would not be accepted, negotiations were stopped.

Upon the discussion of the address at the opening of Parliament, Mr. Draper, feeling how utterly impossible it was for him to carry on the affairs of the country while a large section of the population were denied their fair share of representation, said, in substance, that since the Union had become an accomplished fact, he had always been convinced that *the principles which served as the basis of the Union* \* could not be carried out, while a large section of the population were excluded from participation in public matters. He held this opinion to be just not only in principle, but the only one by means of which the government of this country could be carried on. He admitted that the first time he met Lower Canadian members in the House he was to a certain extent prejudiced against them; but he

---

\* The italics wherever they occur are mine.

felt now, thanks to the friendly relations between them during the first session of Parliament, that these prejudices had disappeared.

Now, what were these relations ?

Why : simply that the representatives of Lower Canada would accept no terms with his government that did not permanently recognize the right of the French Canadian people !

Mr. Draper's Administration was actually toppling over when these words were uttered. Upon the vote of want of confidence, Mr. Lafontaine spoke in French, for which he was brought to task by Mr. Dunn, who asked him to speak English. Mr. Lafontaine said :

“ I am asked to speak in a language that is foreign  
“ to me. I have not sufficient confidence in myself  
“ to speak English. But, said he, I will tell the hono-  
“ rable gentleman, and the other honorable mem-  
“ bers and the public, to whose spirit of fair play I  
“ am not afraid to appeal, that even though my  
“ knowledge of English were as a great as my  
“ knowledge of French, yet still would I make my  
“ first speech in this House in the language of my  
“ fellow-citizens of French origin, were it only to  
“ protest against the cruel injustice of that part of  
“ the Act of Union which tends to proscribe the  
“ language of one-half the people of Canada. I owe  
“ this to my fellow-countrymen, I owe it to my-  
“ self.” Mr. Lafontaine went on, and said that he  
was glad that Mr. Draper, the Atty. General, “ had  
“ admitted that the government required, to re-esta-  
“ blish peace and general contentment, the active  
“ co-operation of the French Canadians. *Not only*  
“ *would this be an act of justice*, but it was a support  
“ which circumstances made necessary.” Yes, said



he in another part of his speech, " unless we participate in the affairs of State, Government cannot perform its functions in a manner so as to re-establish that peace and confidence which are essential to the success of the administration."

Following this speech was one from Mr. Aylwin, in which this gentleman sharply criticised the action of the government. It was evident that the ministry must be defeated, and Sir Charles Bagot feeling this, sought another interview with Mr. Lafontaine, with a view of remedying the position. This interview was crowned with success. The question of granting pensions to Messrs. Ogden and Davidson were for the then present left open. At last Mr. Lafontaine, aided by his faithful friend, Mr. Baldwin, triumphed, and on the 15th September, 1842, these two gentlemen were sworn in as Attorneys General.

The ministers for Lower Canada were the Honbls. L. H. Lafontaine, D. Daly, A. N. Morin and T. C. Aylwin; for Upper Canada: the Honbls. Baldwin, J. B. Harrison, F. Hincks, R. B. Sullivan, J. H. Dunn, H. H. Killaly and J. E. Small. Mr. Turcotte, in his book, *Le Canada sous l'Union, 1841-1867*, in referring to this government, very properly says that " its policy was the very antipodes of that of its predecessor." Nothing can be more true than this remark; its object was to give the broadest application to the principles of Responsible Government. The attempt to proscribe French Canadian public opinion had failed, and the gentleman who had sought to swamp that race, Mr. Draper, was, as I have already stated, forced to admit " that the principles which served as the basis of the Union could never be observed, while a large section of the

population were excluded from participation in the affairs of State."

Now, ladies and gentleman, you have seen the French Canadians triumph through the energy of Mr. Lafontaine, and the strong support given him by his Irish colleagues of Upper and Lower Canada. By dint of perseverance, the Liberal party of that day laid down the true basis of governing mixed communities—that no government is possible in which is not blended, wisely, representatives of the different parties. Mr. Lafontaine steadily persevered in his work; every day the tone of the British Press became more conciliatory, and all finally admitted that the French should be represented in the government. Nor were the attempts of Lord Medcalf, made later on, sufficiently powerful to violate this principle. Through time, the use of the French language was restored, so also was the franchise to certain towns, and the system of voting changed; and that there might be no doubt that those who resisted the encroachments of power were right, the Rebellion Losses Bill was finally carried in 1849, amid the exultations of those who sought to govern this country wisely, and the invectives of those intolerant men who would set up their will, and that alone, as the rule of right. My time will not permit me to enter into all the details of legislation under the old Union—the Settlement of the Clergy Reserves, the Consolidation of the Municipal Laws, the Parliamentary Reform Act, the Seigniorial Tenure, the Codification of the Civil Laws, and other questions of a like nature.

I may tell you that in 1844, the French population of this province was about 525,000, the Irish

44,000, the English 12,000, the Scotch 13,000, of British origin, 5,000.

Now, before I pass on, I shall call your attention to the fact that the constitutional question connected with the triumph of Messrs. Lafontaine and Baldwin grew out of the question of races. It was held that this country could not, under the Union Act of 1841, be governed while French Canadians were excluded from seats in the Cabinet and a fair representation in Parliament. At the Union, the French Canadians held, in the matter of representation, that they were unfairly dealt with; that the population of Lower Canada exceeded that of Upper Canada, and that they were entitled to a larger representation. A few years passed, however, and the positions were changed. The large number of immigrants who had swelled the population of Upper Canada gave an excess of people to that province, and finally led to the question of races again, thinly disguised under the name of Representation by Population.

The Hon. George Brown, having set up many questions, at last bethought him that the population of Upper Canada exceeded that of Lower Canada, and very adroitly adopted the cry of what was then known as Representation by Population. This cry had been first raised by Sir. Allan McNab in 1852. In the first place, Lower Canada domination was inveighed against by Mr. Brown; and in the second, the people of Upper Canada were told that as the population of that province greatly exceeded that of Lower Canada, they ought in justice to have a larger representation. The people of Lower Canada resisted this, and very properly, for they felt that by means of Repre-

sentation by Population, they would, if not immediately, ultimately be swamped. For years and years this question absorbed the minds of the people and public men of Canada, and I hesitate not to say, to the great damage of the country. The interests of Canada were neglected, the producer was forgotten, and our credit cried down to suit the ends of parties—sectarian and national. Sir John A. McDonald, in his speech on the Confederation of the Provinces in 1865, said, in relation to this question of Representation by Population, that—"They found that such was the "opposition between the two sections of the "Province, such was the danger of impending "anarchy, in consequence of the irreconcilable differences of opinion with respect to representation "by population between Upper and Lower Canada, that unless some solution of the difficulty was "arrived at, we would suffer under a succession of "weak governments,—weak in numerical support, "weak in force, and weak in power of doing good." Here was an admission from one of the leading statesmen of the country, after the coalition with Mr. Brown had been formed, and while the question of confederating the provinces was being discussed—that under the old Union things had come to that pass between the rival provinces, that to save the country from a succession of weak governments, perhaps from anarchy, it had become necessary to adopt the principles of Confederation, to carry which the Cartier-McDonald Government had pledged itself in 1858, if it were able. The constitutional question here again was wrapped up with the question of nationality. The French would not accept Representation by Population, pure and

simple, because it would absorb them. Mr. Brown, during the same debate, said : "Something must be done. We cannot stand still. We cannot go back to chronic, sectional hostility and discord—to a state of perpetual ministerial crises." And lower down in his speech, he asserted that "The people of Upper Canada have bitterly complained that though they numbered *four hundred thousand* souls more than the population of Lower Canada, and though they have contributed three or four pounds to the general revenue for every pound contributed by the sister province, *yet the Lower Canadians* send to Parliament as many representatives as they do."

The question of Representation by Population, started under the old system, had raised a storm that could only be quelled by yielding in some way to the wishes of its promoters. Luckily the stand taken by Mr. Lafontaine, in 1841, had paved the way for a compromise in this case. From the time the French nationality was recognized through him, the Union of 1841 had virtually become a Federal Union. And I will tell you why—because, in matters relating exclusively to Upper Canada, Lower Canadians never interfered, and in matters affecting Lower Canada solely, Upper Canadians did not interfere. In all matters of a general nature, however, both parties expressed themselves, and voted as they thought proper. But, besides this, a movement by the Maritime Provinces to form a Confederation amongst themselves, led to our delegates attending the Charlottetown Convention, and to the Lower Provinces consenting to send delegates to the famous Quebec Conference, where the present system was planned

and agreed upon. To use the language of Sir John A. McDonald—"The whole scheme of Confederation, as propounded by the Conference, as agreed to and sanctioned by the Canadian Government, and as now presented for the consideration of the people and the Legislature, *bears upon its face the marks of compromise.*" This is made the more clear from the fact that Mr. Brown, in his speech, says: "It was necessarily the work of concession; not one of the thirty-three framers but had, on some point, to yield his opinions; and, for myself, I freely admit that I struggled earnestly, for days together, to have portions of the scheme amended."

I would ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to remember these quotations, as shortly they will serve to illustrate a position which I feel myself bound to take, in relation to a scheme which cannot be regarded in any other light, between ourselves, than that of an agreement to act fairly by one another.

At the last census, in 1861, the population of Canada numbered :

|                      |                  |
|----------------------|------------------|
| In Upper Canada..... | 1.396.091 souls. |
| “ Lower Canada.....  | 1.111.566 “      |

Classified according to origin, you have in Upper Canada, natives of the province, 911.963; natives of England and Wales, 114.914; of Ireland, 191.431; of Scotland, 98.892—the natives of foreign countries numbered 78.891. In Lower Canada the natives of the province numbered 1.017.925; of England and Wales, 13.821; of Ireland, 50.337; of Scotland, 13.204—the natives of foreign countries numbering 16.279. Classified according to religion, you have, in Upper Canada, 258.141 Catholics; 311,-

565 belonging to the Anglican Church ; 303,384 Presbyterians ; 341,572 Methodists ; 61,559 Baptists ; 24,299 Lutherans ; 9,357 Congregationalists ; 60,718 belonging to what are called miscellaneous creeds. 17,373 are put down as of no religion, and we are told that 8,123 people have no stated creed. These figures establish beyond a doubt that Canada is in every sense a mixed community, composed of individuals who enjoy common rights. These people, who had stood in a position of hostility to one another on many vital questions, entered into a compromise, through their representatives, on the faith of certain pledges made to them. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick entered the Confederacy at the time, on the same conditions, and form portions of Canada to-day.

If we take it for granted that owing to the question of Representation by Population, as it was commonly called, or rather the claims of Upper Canada, that the position of the two sections of the then Province was one of "impending anarchy," we will at once see how necessary it is in mixed communities that legitimate interests should be fairly represented. We are told by Sir J. A. McDonald, that unless some solution of the question of Representation by Population were arrived at, that there *was* danger of "impending anarchy," and that three modes only presented themselves of settling this vexed question. The first was to dissolve the Union, and place Upper and Lower Canada where they stood before the Union of 1841. This proposition had no declared supporters. The next mode was that of granting Representation by Population. This, purely, could not be carried ; the French would not sanction it. The third mode was a Federal or a *Le-*

*gislative Union.* Sir John believed, if practicable, that a Legislative Union was preferable. But it was not practicable, and why was it not practicable? because the French were opposed to it to a man, and the provinces were not prepared to lose their individuality as separate political organizations. In view of these facts, Sir John says: "Therefore, we were forced to the conclusion that we must either abandon the idea of Union altogether, or devise a system of Union in which the separate provincial organizations would be in some degree preserved." With this end in view, all parties *modified* their ideas and accepted a Federal Union. With the French Canadians a Legislative Union, comprising all the provinces, or between Upper and Lower Canada, was impossible, and why? because their Language, their Laws and their Religion was different from those with whom they would have been united. Under it, far from participating in the government of the country, they would have been driven to defend mere sectional interests; and I do not blame them for protecting rights recognized by the constitution. What I would call attention to, is the fact that in all that brought about this scheme of Confederation, as it is called, the question of nationalities, in one shape or the other, was uppermost. This is admitted, and it was admitted too by Sir J. A. McDonald, that the old Union had not allayed the "local jealousies that had their root in circumstances which arose before the Union." But on every side we were told that all interests had been considered under this scheme—that none of the great parties would have to fear being assailed. And although it was not considered a perfect system; although it was said that a Legislative Union would have



been better, still great and everlasting things were expected from Confederation, because it was a *compromise* between the statesmen of Canada, representing her various interests and races. "I say (said Mr. Brown), then, that every one who raises his voice in hostility to this measure is bound to keep before him, when he speaks, all the perilous consequences of its rejection—I say that no man who has a true regard for the well-being of Canada, can give a vote against this scheme, unless he is prepared to offer, in amendment, *some better remedy for the evils and injustice that have so long threatened the peace of our country.*" And, said he, "*not only must the scheme proposed in amendment be a better scheme; it must be something that can be carried.*" Then there was something that could not have been carried. Yes! anything that could have done violence to the leading nationalities of this country or tended to interfere with the individuality of the French Canadians, could never have been popular with the people. And as to the question of nationality, Mr. Brown says: "Whether we ask for parliamentary reform for Canada alone or in union with the Maritime Provinces, the French Canadians must have their views consulted as well as us. This scheme can be carried, and no scheme can be that has not the support of both sections of the province." You will have remembered how boldly Mr. Brown spoke on the question of Representation by Population; how he denounced the injustice perpetrated upon 400,000 souls in Upper Canada, who were not represented. The old territorial system of electoral divisions must have appeared to him an unfair one—for the constitution he sighed for was one that took human nature into account; and so

far, too, he was right. We all know that the manner in which the country is split up under the old law, for purposes of representation, is one fraught with injustice to the Irish people and other leading parties in the State, and which virtually disfranchises them. But all this was to be remedied—for we were told by Mr. Brown, who longed to have the 400,000 souls by which Ontario exceeded Quebec represented, that “it applies a *complete and satisfactory remedy to the injustice of the existing system of parliamentary representation.*” And, said this gentleman further on in his speech, “and it provides a simple and convenient system for readjusting the representation after each decennial census.” That the protection given in this way might not be a dead letter, it will be observed that the limitation of the number of members of the Upper House is the base upon which the whole compact rests. This the British Government were very anxious should be reconsidered.

I think no man will deny that, in working out the principles of Responsible Government, regard was had to the leading nationalities of the provinces. Under the old system, the Irish people were not flagrantly insulted by an attempt to govern the country regardless of them; though they were in the fact that constituencies were so shaped as to exclude them from fair representation. There can be no peace if the present systematic injustice be adhered to; and I will tell you why. If this were a homogenous community, all of whose people had the same interests, so that the laws which oppressed or impoverished one portion of the people would necessarily oppress and impoverish all other portions—or the reverse—then the

mere general right of suffrage might be sufficient to counteract the tendency of the government to oppress. The interest of all being the same in a homogenous community, as far as the action of the government was concerned, all would have a like interest as to what laws were made, and how they should be executed. But such is not the case here. Because, besides the difficulty of equalizing the action of the government, in reference to the various and diversified interests of Canada, looked at from a geographical point of view, under the existing compact the statesmen of this country are bound to equalize the action of the government in reference to the various nationalities who hold the soil. And any attempt of one or two of the leading nationalities of this country to pervert the powers of government into instruments to aggrandize and enrich one or more party interests and impoverish the others, and this, too, under the operation of laws couched in general terms, and which appear on their face fair and equal, but which are unjust, is a thing not to be permitted. By dealing fairly with the various nationalities of this country now, you may in the end bring about something like a common sentiment of nationality; but if you deal unfairly with any of the races, you do that which makes the position of Canada a perilous one. The *compromise* at the bottom of the Act confederating the British North America Provinces is the very principle of constitutional government, as *force* is the distinguishing *principle* of absolute governments. And any attempt to violate the rights of leading parties in the State is fraught with danger to the happiness and well-being of the people of Canada. And why so? Well, I will tell you. We

all know that the link which binds us with England must sooner or later be severed. Under any consideration, we must contribute our share towards our own defence. In order, therefore, that we may be in a position to protect ourselves, the government must at all times be prepared to command the resources of the community promptly. Can they do this, if by injustice they have raised up hostile parties in the State? Will men who are wronged and cajoled by the cupidity and avariciousness of those who have grasped the honors and emoluments of the State, yield to the first call made to them by and in the name of a country whose people have not a name which belongs to them in their national capacity—no one name that could exalt the pride of patriotism, but only appellations derived from national discriminations? But there is another question. In the matter of Taxation, are the people of Irish descent in Canada, who number over a million, to bear the burdens while they are denied the right of sharing in the bounties. And what I say of the Irish would apply to any other leading nationality deprived of its proper place at the Council Board and in Parliament, by an unjust operation of the suffrage. Just consider the proportion of the different origins in Canada—and in this table, which is from the Census of 1861, those only born in England, Ireland and Scotland are set down.

The natives of B. N. America are 79 per cent.

|                        |    |   |   |
|------------------------|----|---|---|
| Ireland.....           | 9  | “ | “ |
| England and Wales..... | 4½ | “ | “ |
| Scotland.....          | 4½ | “ | “ |
| Foreign Countries..... | 3  | “ | “ |

Now then, 9 per cent of the population of this country are natives of Ireland, their per centage alone being as great as that of the English and Scotch united.

I need not tell you that they must have contributed largely to the 79 per cent of Canadian origin; and yet these Irish have absolutely no participation in the governing of the country. I may be told that the right of suffrage will cure that! It would most effectively, and they know it who prevent it, were the law relating to elections justly framed. Under the appearance of being just, the laws relating to the suffrage may be a means of doing the most grievous wrong. We have seen the uses to which they were put against Mr. Lafontaine; and they know the danger who caused 12 electoral districts in the Province of Quebec to be specially fixed. The concession made in this way shows how far the spirit of compromise was pushed by the representatives of the various nationalities of this country when the scheme of confederating the provinces was planned; and gives force and additional weight to the remarks of Mr. Brown, when in examining the remedial provisions of the compact he stated (I have already spoken the words, but I shall repeat them): "First, then, it applies a complete and satisfactory remedy to the injustice of the existing system of parliamentary representation." It did this, because it would give the 400,000 souls by which Mr. Brown claimed the population of Upper Canada exceeded that of Lower Canada, a chance under the new law to be represented. Well, Art. 51, of the B. N. A. Act, does provide for the readjustment of the representation of the four provinces, on the comple-

tion of the census of 1871, and of each subsequent decennial census. But all this was subject to certain conditions, one of which shows how anxiously the question of nationality was balanced. The condition runs thus: "Quebec shall have the fixed number of sixty-five members. There shall be assigned to each of the other provinces such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population (ascertained at the census) as the number 65 bears to the population of Quebec (so ascertained)." Now you see the whole question of representation rests upon the question of nationality. Mr. Draper might have told Mr. Lafontaine, when he formed a Cabinet which did not contain *one* French Canadian—Sir, this Cabinet represents the people of Canada with the same amount of justice as an Irishman might be told to-day that the present government represented the people of the Dominion. Draper's Government no more represented the people then than the present government—for, admitting the presence of Sir Francis Hincks (an Irishman) in the government to day, I say that he only represents one section of the Irish; and I say further that the Irish would not be fully represented if by the side of Mr. Hincks there sat a Catholic Irishman. The governorship given to Mr. Kenny is a seeming shadow of justice to our people; but we do not want favors which are thrown over the wall—we simply want to be placed upon a fair footing with all parties in this country. And my own opinion is that Catholic and Protestant Irishmen alike feel pretty warmly upon this point. When Sir Francis Hincks was called in to save the country from financial ruin, what number of years

had elapsed since an Irish Protestant held a seat in the Cabinet. Weigh the treatment of the Irish in matters of representation by the Cartier-McDonald Government, with the sterling and unflinching support that the Irish gave that government, and you will find how shamefully we have been treated. But under the old system we knew the bitterness of sectional quarrels, and our public men always hoped for better days. Now, however, the time has come for us to exact, first : That Irishmen be fairly represented in the Cabinet; and secondly, that care be taken in readjusting the representation of Canada that the Irish be not parcelled out in a way to make them count for nothing. If the fact of 400,000 souls being unrepresented were a sufficiently powerful cause to produce a state of affairs bordering on anarchy, in the one instance, is the danger not equally great if, under color of the law, over a million of souls are made to count for nothing in the other? The precedent is established and the doctrine laid down, and if the Irish people will only organize and agitate; if they will only follow opinions that are honestly given and men who are without any interested bias; if they will only weigh the conclusions of those who have studied and reflected; if they will but turn a deaf ear to the crude speculations of mere pretenders, and listen with deference and respect to the plain language and honest suggestions of upright men, they will soon see in politics as in everything else, that skilful and honest men are the safest and best guides. I would not ask Irishmen to allow any man or set of men to dictate his or their opinions to them, or how they should think or act; but I would ask them to weigh, and reflect upon, the opinions of those

whose experience is large, whose minds are far-seeing, and whose hearts are deep and broad.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, if a doubt lingers in your mind after all I have stated; if I say, you do not believe that the question of "nationalities" was the one attempted to be settled by the Act of British North America, I will, I think, remove it by the following quotations: "If you will but remember the quotation made by me from Sir John A. McDonald's speech in 1865, that the connection which had existed for nearly a quarter of a century under the old Union "had not allayed altogether the local jealousies that had their root in circumstances which arose before the Union, our province though as a whole (said that gentleman); had nevertheless prospered and increased."—I say, if you will only remember this, and the further fact that the British party in Lower Canada for their particular protection had twelve counties specially fixed, and follow the utterances of Sir John Rose in 1865, when he spoke on the compact, and which I shall presently quote, then I say you must be forced to the conclusion I have come to, that this compromise had reference throughout to the nationalities holding the soil of Canada in common. Listen to Sir John Rose,—“Now, Sir, I believe that the rights of both minorities,—the French minority in the General Legislature and the English-speaking minority in the Local Legislature of Lower Canada—are properly guarded.—I would admit at once that without this protection it would be open to the gravest objection; I would admit that you were embodying in it an element of future difficulty and agitation that might be destructive to the whole fabric; and therefore it is a very grave and anxious



question for us to consider, —*especially the minorities in Lower Canada*,—how far our mutual rights and interests are respected and guarded, the one in the General and the other in the Local Legislature." Mr. Rose very frankly admitted that the rights accorded to the Protestant minority in Lower Canada were accorded to them in the most unrestricted way before the union of the provinces, when they were in a minority and entirely in the hands of the French population. And if any one doubts whether the minorities in the other provinces were considered in this compromise, I will cite for his satisfaction that the settlement of their rights was one of great practical difficulty, and perhaps one of those very difficulties which Mr. Brown alludes to when he says: "I struggled earnestly for days together to have portions of the scheme amended." But to return to Sir John Rose; hear him exclaim:

"But from whence comes the practical difficulty of dealing with the question at the present moment? We should not forget that it does not come from our French Canadian brethren, but it arises in this way—and I speak as one who has watched the course of events and the opinion of the country upon the subject—that the Protestant majority in Upper Canada are indisposed to disturb the settlement made a couple of years ago, with regard to separate schools, and rather to hope that the French majority in Lower Canada should concede to the English Protestant minority there nothing more than is given to the minority in the other section of the province." This is what the minority in Quebec would not submit to.

Now, then, let me set the question of nationalities at rest; and if you will follow the words of Sir

George Cartier, spoken in 1865, you may then judge of the whole matter yourselves. "In our own Federation, however, we should have Catholic and Protestant, English, French, Irish and Scotch, and each by his efforts and his success would increase the prosperity and glory of the new Confederacy. (Hear! hear!) He viewed the diversity of races in British North America in this way: — We were of different races, not for the purpose of warring against each other, but in order to compete and emulate for the general welfare (cheers). *We could not do away with the distinctions of race. We could not legislate for the disappearance of French Canadians from American soil, but British and French Canadians alike could appreciate and understand their positions relative to each other. They were placed like great families beside each other, and their contact produced a healthy spirit of emulation. It was a benefit rather than otherwise that we had a diversity of races.* Of course the difficulty, it would be said, would be to deal fairly by the minority. In Upper Canada the Catholics would find themselves in a minority; in Lower Canada the Protestants would be in a minority, while the lower Provinces were divided. Under such circumstances would any one pretend that either the Local or General Governments would sanction any injustice. What would be the consequence, even supposing any such a thing were attempted by any one of the Local Governments? It would be censured everywhere. Whether it came from Upper Canada or from Lower Canada, any attempt to deprive the minority of their rights would be at once thwarted." Why, so perfectly was it understood that the interests which affect us all deeply

were settled by this compromise, that Sir George says—Would any one pretend that either the Local or General Governments would sanction any injustice? and if they did, he exclaims, it would be at once thwarted! Well now, you all know whether the minority of Ontario enjoy equal rights with the minority of Quebec; and I am not aware that any attempt has been made to thwart those who inflict injustice upon the minority in that and the other provinces.

Now, whether you look at the position of Irish Catholics in this Dominion from a religious point of view, or as a section of the Irish party, injustice has been done to them. In the matter of Education they are not as fairly treated in Ontario as the minority in Quebec—as a section of the great Catholic party of the Dominion, whose people, classified according to religion, are mainly Catholic, they have not that effective participation in the affairs of State to which they are entitled—as a leading wing in the Irish party, and it is as such I would regard them, I may say the same thing. Now, was this injustice contemplated in the Act of Union—*which was based upon a compromise*? I believe not, and I look to the readjustment of the Representation as a means of curing the evil.—In the meantime I would not cease to agitate that the broad principles of the Act be applied. I am opposed to any one or two sections of the people of this community coalescing and systematically perverting the power of taxation and disbursement, for the purpose of aggrandizing and building up particular sections of the community at the expense of the others. This is unfair and unjust. I may be told the suffrage can remedy

this. As it exists at present, as far as we are concerned, and other leading parties, the suffrage is a vicious piece of machinery, calculated to place controlling and governing power in the hands of one set of men, to the exclusion of men who under the readjustment must be secured. And how, I may be asked, will you prevent any one party or combination of parties from using the powers of government to aggrandize itself at the expense of others? This is the great evil I complain of, and here is the remedy I suggest; and it is the only certain mode in which the result desired can be secured: Let the readjustment of the Representation of the four Provinces, as provided for in the B. N. A. Act, and subject to the limitations in that Act in favor of the French Canadians, be made in such a way as that it shall effectually prevent any one interest, or party, or combination of interests or parties from obtaining the exclusive control of the government, and render hopeless all attempts to that end. By this means you will give to each of the great parties in the Dominion, to each division or interest, either a concurrent voice in making and executing the laws, or a veto on their execution. This constitutes the elements of constitutional government. This would give the Irish party to-day, and all other parties as well, what Mr. Lafontaine struggled for and obtained, through the fidelity of his Irish and Canadian supporters, "*an efficacious participation in the action of the government.*" It would also give the leading parties of Canada an effective and constitutional control over those who are immediately called upon to work out the ends of government.

To-day there is an attempt of two dominant

nationalities to advance their interests, regardless of the rights of others; and the flying squadron of the British party, represented by Mr. McKenzie, would be prepared to do just what the more fortunate section of the wing are doing. No government can be strong, though it may count large majorities, unless it fairly represent the community, and this it can only do (and is bound to do, to act constitutionally), by giving to each section of our people, the English, Irish, Scotch and Canadian, a means of protecting itself by its negative influence against all measures calculated to injure its rights and liberties. This authorized and effectual resistance is the only way of preventing oppression, and a recourse to force; because it makes compromise instead of force the conservative principle of the government. It is the only way, too, of equalizing the fiscal action of the government. Turn the matter over as you will, and you will find that all hopes of Independence are futile unless you recognize the leading nationalities of this country in matters of representation. It is the only way, too, in which you can set the question of religion at rest. Why, to-day, in a country which, as I have said, classified according to religion, is mainly Catholic, you have only three Catholics in the ministry. Is this fair? Under such a state of affairs the insecurity of Catholic interests is a great source of anxiety to the Catholic party. They are far from imputing any motives to their fellow-citizens of different creeds; but that greater injustice to them, than they suffer, is possible as things stand, is a cause of alarm, and this will be readily understood by those who refused to assent to Confederation until their religious rights

were guaranteed in Quebec. The Catholics of the Dominion are extremely sensitive upon the manner in which they are represented. Why the active government of the country should almost exclusively vest in one party, where all have equal rights and contribute equally to the revenue, is what they cannot understand. When you remember the great Catholic party in Ontario and the Provinces, who feel themselves to be unfairly treated under Confederation, you will see how necessary it is to remove all causes of bitterness for the future. Suppose the whole British Provinces independent to-morrow, and the Irish party treated as they are, how long do you think independence would last? Would a people—the natives of Ireland—not counting their descendants, who number twice as many as the natives of England, Wales and Scotland united, long permit themselves to be ruled without a fair representation? Why the thing is absurd. And something must be done now, right away; we must have no religious cries if we can help it in this country, though I am not opposed to the Catholics securing their rights in matters of education by prompt organization. But that there may be no religious cries, you must have the leading nationalities properly represented in the Cabinet, and you must readjust the representation in the four Provinces, in a way that will provide for their fair and full representation, and this must be done under the Act uniting these Provinces into a Confederacy. The measure of justice contemplated in the Union must be carried out, and if it be not, the people should remember that there are bounds beyond which those in authority cannot go with-

out encroaching on popular liberties; without making it imperative upon each individual in the common and legal course of things to move in their own and the nation's interests. The common interest of the great nationalities in Canada requires that they should adhere to the general arrangement made for the common good, and if any of them seek to pervert the compromise, they can only do so at the cost of lasting and extensive danger. Let no man doubt the truth of this.

Having now ascertained what are our rights under the British North America Act, is it not time to consider how we may enforce them—first then: Under the constitution every citizen has a right of interfering in public matters; and this right of expressing his opinion in a way to influence the sentiments of the Legislature procures to every man a sort of legislative authority. This the people should remember, and in consequence should never fail to keep a watchful eye on the motions of power. But to achieve any great purpose a party must be united—there must be identity of sentiment among them upon the sum of affairs, for if they are not united they are incapable of exerting influence. The same order and the same discipline which exist among those who infringe the rights of particular parties must be followed by the injured party. While the Irish people should carefully avoid the suggestions and opinions and follies of superficial or bad men, they should never fail to repose entire trust in the opinions of honest and good men; by this means they will oppose to those who oppose them, men who are governed by wise principles and plans that they never lose sight of. The greater their confi-

dence in such men, the more will such men be slandered; but if they will only turn a deaf ear to these slanders; and point with a finger of scorn at the slanderer; such a body of men will espouse their cause as will ultimately win for them those rights which are guaranteed to them by the British North America Act, and without which that Act would be essentially imperfect.

The aim of dominant parties has always been to turn against leading men who are opposed to them their collective strength. We have seen that in the case of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine. And I would say to you never—never desert your leading men; but gather around him, and back him up who is fighting your battles, that he may not find himself engaged alone in the combat. I know the generous nature of the Irish people—that they are not prone to desert their champions; but I cannot too often tell you to be guarded against those enemies of mankind who, by cunning, seek to divide the ranks of those whom they would trample if they could. In the history of Canada our countrymen have always played a leading part, and it were cowardly in us to-day to abandon a pathway so brilliantly studded, or forget our rights. We are bound by every obligation by which men can be bound, to fight out this great question of Education and Representation, and the sooner we enter the lists the better. Never were men better prepared for a great struggle than we are; and if we will only be true to ourselves, it is not in the nature of things that we should be defeated. Confederation without our effective participation in the government of the country can only be a mockery and deceit, and like all mockeries is doomed.



Independence under the condition of affairs that exist to day is an impossibility. Rest assured that you are strong ; for without you little can be done, if you will only go to work with a will. Wrong is indissolubly bound to right, and those who would throw a shadow over your path may find that they have but obscured their own way. But remember, above all things, that in politics men's rights are not so much valued by the attitudes they assume, as by their power to defend whatever position they may take. If justice be on the side of that position, and unity prevail in the ranks, that party is powerful and its pretensions will meet with respect, whatever be the apparent disadvantages under which it labors. The power of a party is never doubted until it is felt that it is divided. And if it is divided, were its numbers countless, they are perfectly harmless.

The great object of Confederation was to shape such a system as would effectually remove all important causes of uneasiness. When the scheme was being discussed in 1865, we were told, as I have shown you, by every leading statesman in the country, that it had provided for the removal of all important causes of uneasiness. Now, we want that system to be applied in the spirit in which it was framed ; and if it be not applied in that spirit, then the people of this country have been wronged by their public men, and the way for future intestine difficulties paved. I would like to see all this remedied, but I would never give up one iota of the rights of the Irish people under the Act which binds the provinces together. I feel as deep a concern in the success of this country as any man in it, and I would say to all

who are acting an offensive part against the compromise, who seem to have imposed on themselves an obligation of preparing bitter discords for the future—Hold! you must stop short. Those who are anxious to preserve the advantages guaranteed by the compromise, and the peace of the country, are no longer inactive nor supine, but aware of the danger, have constituted themselves the defenders of what is right. Truth is with all such men, and I would remark that truth is independent of the obscurity or the fame of the man who utters or asserts it. It is only groundless opinions and what is false that time can destroy. The humblest individual in the State, grasping truth with his poor hand, possesses an advantage which no superior abilities and cunning culture can command. Were the promises made to us when the compromise took place the reverse of truth, the mere assertions of intriguing and grasping factions? Certainly the men who made them will not admit this. They are not prepared to come down now and tell us, that when they made the portion of the bargain with us, there was a variance between their tongues and their heart. No, they are not prepared to say that; but, from the fact that Irishmen are excluded from the Cabinet, there being only one, the Irish people have a right—are justified in looking upon the dominant parties, be they whom they may, as upon men who contemplate a policy at variance with the *compromise*, and are warranted in appealing from their acts to the spirit of that compromise. Our dissatisfaction is not a mere dissatisfaction with the laws, or this or that government—far from it; our complaints are governed by no calculated refinements, but we simply say

that a compromise was entered into by which certain things were to be done to all, and to all alike, and now we want that these things should be done. We ask for others what we ask for ourselves, fair play and no favors; and we do so, because we believe that any attempt of dominant parties to restrict or circumscribe the latitude of concession, to the various nationalities of this country, of equal rights, is an attempt to undermine the personal security, rights, station and property of every man in the Dominion, and that which must tend to make civil liberty insecure in the future.

I know that those whom I complain of are not without that left-handed wisdom which will induce them to attempt to give color to their acts, or to promise again that in the course of time all will be right. I think myself, in the course of time, *all* will be right; but in the meantime I would say— agitate, and never cease agitating till you get what is fair. For the acts of those who do injustice, and contemplate further injustice to you, is doubly mean, because they knew the evil of it so well that they have guarded themselves most powerfully against it; and would, now that they are safe themselves, leave you who were a party to the compromise out in the cold, and not merely neglect, but actually insult you.

Is this to be tolerated? Certainly not, and the well-wisher of Canada, whoever he may be, must frown it down. There is every reason to do so, and the past would seem to tell us not again to have sectional or national quarrels. We know now what the sectional, national and sectarian quarrels under the old system cost. Though our country

made some headway, how fearfully retarded was it not by the animosities which existed between the various religious and national parties.

A commercial policy is what Canada never had, and never can have, until we may exclusively deal with our own trade. But even under the beggarly commercial system which we do possess, had it not been for the bickerings of the past, our broad fields would have been thrown open to those in search of a home, and some attempt made to foster home industry and create a home market. But all was made secondary to national and sectarian clamors, and session after session passed and nothing done, until at last out of sheer hopelessness Confederation was grasped as a safety plank. All was to be remedied by it; under its sway we would prosper, and the arrangements were so complete, we were told, that we might aspire to become one day a great people. Was this possible? If the spirit of the compromise were carried out fairly; if all important causes of uneasiness were fully and fairly removed, that existed between the great nationalities in Canada; if in the Cabinet were wisely and moderately blended representatives of all the great parties, so that no man would have to lament the day when Confederation became a fact—if this were done, then I say great hopes might be entertained for the future. But if instead of this fair play you exclude in all the Provincial as in the General Government the representatives of a people who number over a million—and I now speak of those of Irish descent, and from the census of 1861—in a country whose whole population at the time was only 3,090,561; then I say you are not only viola-

ting the spirit which gave birth to the Confederacy, but you are dragging into the future untold miseries, undermining hope, and making men war against each other, who should "compete and emulate for the general welfare." I believe Sir George Cartier was right when he said : " We could not do away with the distinctions of race." Certainly you cannot legislate for their disappearance, under a system which recognizes their existence and their common rights. In New Brunswick to day, one-third of the population ask for an Education Bill similar to that granted to the minority in Quebec, and how are they met? Why, ladies and gentleman, a Common School Bill is brought in and they are told that they must contribute to its support. Will this violence to the feelings of one-third of the population of a province be thwarted? In the readjustment of the representation will power be lodged in the hands of this one-third of the province, to protect its interests and resist encroachments? If justice be done there is no fear for Canada; but if justice be not done, Canada is a soap bubble that may burst any day. The people of this continent are not of the stamp who are to be drilled into acquiescence into what is wrong, and that man only is a true man who is true to the spirit of the compact which brought about Confederation.

There are reasons why the Irish people should hold to their fair representation,—they have as much as any other people on this continent contributed to win for Canada civil liberty, and I know of no great reform in this country which they did not assist to bring about. When the French Canadians were struggling for liberty, and

the hand of power pressed heavily upon them; when, to defeat everlastingly their hopes, counties were disfranchised, and the whole system of suffrage perverted, and the greatest corruption prevailed; when their language was all but proscribed, and all the temptations that power could hold out were held out to Mr. Baldwin, that gentleman said—No; these people must be recognized, and they shall be recognized; and he never deserted them, (nor did his friends, all of whom nearly were Irishmen) but stood by them as a fast ally. I would that this spirit should exist all around to-day. I would that the English had their fair representation; so to the Scotch and the Canadians. I would claim no advantage for an Irishman that I would not they had, nor for Irish Catholics, but what the Irish Protestant should have; but I would emphatically protest against the governing of this country without representatives of my nationality. Since the compromise the thing has been attempted, and year after year things have grown worse; so that I conclude from all I see that the intention exists of governing this country without regard to at least one-third of its people. Against this I would wage the strongest opposition in my power, and I would never cease to struggle until I brought the matter to a settlement.

If such views as these are entertained by you, and I hope they are, then I would say to you—Fight out this question of Representation. Call public attention to it by all the means at your command, so that it may be properly ventilated—you need not fear as to the verdict; the interests you advocate concern others besides yourselves, who will willingly lend you a hand, when they see the danger

to themselves of violating the compact. A wrong act hurts more than one man, and it were a strange thing if injustice to you did not in the end endanger more than one interest. All this will come out in discussion. What I would ask is, that you should never lose sight of the fact, and that you would never be hoodwinked or cajoled by this or that party, by fair promises. You have now lived on promises long enough, and it behoves you with spirit to enter the field, where all are equal and compete for the race. As it is, you are being taxed without being represented. You have to contribute to the revenue of this country a large amount of money, yet you are not permitted a voice in the matter of disbursement. This wrong cannot last. But a great deal depends upon yourselves—you must be alert, and unwearied in your exertions; and if you are, there is no power in this country to prevent you from obtaining that to which you are entitled.

You may rest certain that any attempt of one or more parties in Canada to impose their will upon the community, without respect to the rights or claims of the members of that community, is a thing that will meet with opposition from all sides. Laws framed by parties who have grasped a power which is not theirs of right, and which do violence to the claims of others, can only be maintained at the expense of a coercive power, and as this ceases to be invincible, so will the people rebel an order of things which, from the beginning, was contrary to the ideas of justice. Those who would legislate for this country must have regard for the character of the situation. Here you must link the *idea of right* with that of personal

interest, and unless you do this you can only govern men through their fears. If you would bring about a happy state of things, that condition contemplated by the compromise, the humblest individual in the State, through a thorough reform of the suffrage, must be made to feel that he is an actor in the affairs which concern the well-being of all. Deny the citizen this right, and remove from his reach the prize which you place within that of others, and you make him sullen and discontented. He ceases alike to respect the laws and those who make them, and as far as within him lies, he will struggle to upset an order of things that treats him as an alien.

That the power of levying money and regulating commerce and such like, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities should be fully and effectually vested in the Government of Canada, no man will deny ; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trusts to one or two parties in the State, who wield these authorities without regard to other vested rights, is evident, and what no large section of the people will submit to without a struggle. If it were the intention of the members of the Quebec Convention, who planned the present Constitution and Government, to practice a deception upon the people of this country, then I say they have done that which no sincere or honest man can acquiesce in. They have founded the Confederacy upon a basis that affords no strength to it, and far from removing the difficulties of the past, their work will bring about a state of things which in the end will destroy the political existence of this country.



